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175 Datil Range, the vicinity of Rito, Hot Springs, Cuchillo, and
619 the Black, the Mimbres, the Mogollon, the Pinos Altos, Vic-
[621] toria, and Florida mountain ranges. For convenience I have
[131] called the Red Paint People the Eastern Chiricahua band.
[101]

To the south and west of the Red Paint People, ranging
619 through the portion of southwestern New Mexico west of the
101 Continental Divide and through southeastern Arizona, a second
[131] Chiricahua band, called *čo·k'ánén*, whose name does not yield to linguistic analysis, was to be found. This is the band to which the term "Chiricahua" was first applied. It was this band, often
[622] called in the literature "Cochise" Apache after their leader, Cochise, which held Apache Pass, and with which the government had a great deal of trouble during the Indian Wars. The
[131] most famous of the strongholds of this band, which I have named the Central Chiricahua band, were the Dragoon Mountains, the Chiricahua Mountains, and the Dos Cabezas Mountains.

The third and southernmost band of the Chiricahua, called in the native tongue, *'dé'i'dà·i*, "Enemy People," stayed almost entirely in what is now Old Mexico. I shall refer to this group as the Southern Chiricahua band. During the last half of the
[648] nineteenth century difficulties with the Mexican soldiery drove them north, where they speedily came into conflict with settlers
[622] and United States government forces. After that they were harried from either side of the border until Geronimo's surrender in 1886. Geronimo himself was born a member of this band. Mention of this tribal subdivision in the literature is made under the names of Southern Chiricahua and Pinery Apache. Reference in the literature may be found to their leader, Hǫ̀· whose
[131] name has been variously written as Who, Whoa, or Juh. The Sierra Madre and the Hatchet Mountains were familiar landmarks of this band.

175 With the appearance in numbers of white settlers, the affairs
648 of the tribe took an unhappy turn. About 1870 the Ojo Caliente
657 Reserve in western New Mexico was established for the Eastern Chiricahua band. In 1872 similar provision was made for the Central Chiricahua and the Southern Chiricahua. Because part of their range lay in Old Mexico, it was particularly difficult to

[Text continues on p. 4]

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175 control the movements of the members of the latter group.
• 648 When the local reservations which had permitted these people
657 to remain in their familiar territories were abolished after 1875 in order to concentrate all Chiricahua on the White Mountain Apache Reservation, the stage was set for trouble. The antagonism between the Western Apache and the Chiricahua was marked, and many Chiricahua refused to obey the order to move. Others who were forced to go would leave their new home as soon as military supervision was relaxed. Out of this situation grew a number of bloody incidents and two major military operations—one when General Crook, in his campaign of 1883, was forced to cross over into Old Mexico in order to obtain the surrender of these Indians, and the last in 1885–86, ending on September 5, 1886, when Geronimo surrendered to General Nelson A. Miles.[1] During this period of strife the tribe, normally over one thousand strong, was reduced to less than half that number.

The aftermath of this struggle was the removal of the entire Chiricahua tribe, over four hundred individuals, from the West. They went, as prisoners, first to Florida and then, after a short stay, to Alabama, where they were held until 1894. In that year they were sent to Fort Sill, Oklahoma, where they were retained until their release from the status of prisoners of war.
175 This occurred in 1913, when individuals were given their choice
131 of taking up residence on the Mescalero Indian Reservation of
648 New Mexico or of accepting allotments of land in Oklahoma.
657 Less than one hundred chose to stay where they were. The survivors of this group and their descendants are still living in the vicinity of Apache, Oklahoma. Most of the Chiricahua, however, went to New Mexico and now live at Mescalero on a reservation which they share with the Mescalero and Lipan Apache.

[1] For a longer account of these troubles, from the native point of view, see Opler, "A Chiricahua Apache's Account of the Geronimo Campaign of 1886," *New Mexico Historical Review*, October, 1938.

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The reluctance to discuss intimate matters becomes intensified between individuals of opposite sex: 834 183

It is part of Chiricahua nature to be shy about such personal matters. It is almost impossible to talk to a Chiricahua girl about such things. Before I married my wife I never mentioned things of this nature [sexual] to her. Even after her father gave consent to the marriage we said nothing about it until we were living together. That is the old Chiricahua attitude. . . . . She belonged to the [832] old school. I never kissed her or hugged her. We didn't even hold hands.

To give point to their ideal of restraint between the sexes, informants have repeatedly compared their own customs with those of other peoples whom they have lately come to know: 834 186 829 648 183

The young men I went around with attended the Comanche dances. The Comanche were the only ones that had any tribal life and dances still going. We really went to meet the Comanche girls, because they were the ones we had intercourse with.

You couldn't do much with the Chiricahua girls. If you began talking to them about such things, they just got mad and walked away. With the Comanche girls it was different, and we had no trouble at all. The Comanche men did not seem to resent the fact that we went around with the Comanche girls. It seems like a difference in attitude. I don't think it is because the Comanche were more degenerate or had had more contact with whites, because, as a matter of fact, I think the Apache had had more contact and more trouble with the whites and were more disorganized. It seems to me that it was a difference in attitude in treating the whole question. . . . .

Modesty and delicacy are ideals which some individuals fail to attain: 834 183 156

He is just a man with a dirty mouth. He's been this way ever since I have known him. Because he is always talking about these things some of the Indians call him "He Who Knows about It"; or they call him "Vulva," because he's always talking about that. You can't be with him for five minutes before he will start talking like this. I'll bet if we went right up now and asked him to tell something about the old times, he'd find some excuse for talking like this.

He goes right in to a place where he knows there are people who are ashamed before each other, and just the same he will say something so bad that all these people will have to leave. When the others who are there scold him about it, he says, "Well, I told nothing but the truth, didn't I?"

One time we were having a big council. He was sitting with the men, and his wife was over there sitting on the side of the hill with some other women. After a while she took her moccasins off. He noticed this. "Hey!" he called to her, "what are you doing?" "Oh, I've just taken my moccasins off," she said. "Well,

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842 827 648 595 Not long ago the idea that a child may have more than one father was introduced in a legal dispute. A man had been practicing polygyny with two sisters. Since plural marriages are banned by white edict, only one of these women could be registered as his lawful wife. When the other became pregnant, the problem arose of how to answer the queries of the agency officials. Finally, the woman blamed another young man for her [837] condition, and, since he admitted having had intercourse with her three times, it seemed that he would be punished and be forced to support the baby. It was here that native doctrine was invoked. A legally minded brother of the accused man proved to the superintendent that the "secret husband" had been having relations with this woman and asserted that the child belonged "more to that man than to anyone else." It is doubtful that the superintendent understood the latter statement, but he was enough impressed by the testimony concerning the woman's irregular conduct to reduce the threatened punishment.

826 833 With the theory of blood accumulation goes a concept of blood exchange. The primary result of sexual intercourse is to add male blood to the store of female blood. The condition of the generative blood of the man is modified by his age and the state of his health. The blood accumulated within a woman has two special characteristics in addition. First, it is associated some- [841] how with the menstruum. Menstrual blood is most dangerous to [1753] men; contact with it brings, at the least, rheumatic joints. Therefore, men fear it and avoid intercourse with menstruating women. Second, a woman's blood is in a special category because, if she is promiscuous, her augmented supply represents the contributions of many men of dubious soundness.

826 833 1753 This fully explains the warning to young men against tampering with older women of bad reputation. Evidently, it is suspected that during intercourse the man's genitals may come in contact with the woman's blood and that any disease which it carries can be thus transmitted to him. Tuberculosis, for instance, has been considered communicable in this way:

> In the time before my day and my father's day, the Chiricahua didn't know what tuberculosis was. They knew that sometimes a man's stomach got bad and

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A shaman who got his power from a star could locate the enemy by making a cross of ashes on his left hand and holding it up to the star, the morning star. This was much used in war. Sometimes the cross was traced in pollen, or abalone shell was held aloft in the hand. Then a flash of lightning in the direction of the enemy appeared. 756 778 789 [787]

Fugitives can be found and halted by ceremonial methods too:

A young man killed his wife and ran away. Her relatives were looking for him. Finally they found his track. They brought a ceremonial man to it. "I'll make him come back," he said. He knelt down, put pollen on the man's track, and prayed and sang. Then he put his hand in the track and turned it. "He can't get away. He will be back," he said. In two days this boy came to his stepfather's camp. They were waiting for him and caught him.

Of great consequence is the function of power in weakening the enemy and in providing invulnerability from attack: 756 778 789 726

One time they all saw the enemy coming, and the enemy saw them. The shaman said to the people, "I am going to make them disappear, and we shall disappear from their view also." Then he told the people to go behind a hill so they couldn't see the enemy. He alone stood on top of the hill.

After about twenty minutes the shaman told them all to come up again. When they came up, there were only cattle grazing around where the enemy had been. The shaman told the men to herd the cattle, drive them to the river, and shoot them and eat them there.

When it became apparent that the Mexicans and Americans were menacing invaders, the ceremonies to influence the enemy were extended to cope with them: 756 778 789 648 ●

C. was going into Chihuahua. He wanted to go to a certain Mexican town. He knew the ceremony of Cloud and started to perform it. Cloud told him not to use it but to use the ceremony to influence the enemy which he also knew. So he did. Then he went right into the town.

The mayor was surprised to see him come. "Aren't you afraid? Don't you know we kill all of you Indians?" he asked C. "I'm not afraid. What should I be afraid of? I have done nothing against you," C. replied. And no harm came to him.

. . . . K. got into some trouble. He had to run away to Oklahoma. He came back afraid, for the agent had said he would fix him when he got hold of him. So he hired a woman to pray for him and influence the white man.

She walked up the road behind him praying. Then she said, "All right, go ahead and see the agent." Then she turned off the road. K. went right on to the office. The agent did not seem angry with him. In fact, he was glad to see him. It surely does influence them!

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775 the living are not severed. Therefore, it is dangerous to keep the
[152] dead in mind through excessive grief. "Calling the name of a
[561] dead person any time is dangerous, but it is especially so after
[578] dark." It is an insult to speak the name of the deceased before his kin.

It is obvious that relatives and close friends of the deceased, particularly the former, are most likely to suffer from ghost experiences: "If one is a friend or relative of a dead person or in any way associated with him, there is a fear of his ghost."

[753] Precautions during and after the death rites will not totally
775 eliminate ghost sickness. We remember the man who thought
578 that he was being persecuted for singing a deceased tribesman's ceremonial song and the man who, in a dream, defied the ghost which sought his death, telling it that he would not die because he knew no false ceremony. It takes no great insight to infer that these two men had clashed over the validity of each other's claims of supernatural power. In other words, the fear of the return of the ghost is not unrelated to rivalries of everyday life. The more free from friction relations have been with an individual, the less likely is dread of his ghost to materialize.[14] This was definitely in the mind of the informant who said: "I don't think my father's ghost would come back to bother me. No, my father was a sensible man. He wouldn't do a thing like that. Only those who were trouble-makers in life would bother you that way."

775 The ghosts of enemy peoples, particularly Americans and
648 Mexicans, can cause an illness much like that produced by
753 Chiricahua ghosts but differing from it in some particulars.

When you just go out of your head and want to bite your tongue, and you get scared and numb all over the back and chest, that's sickness from the white man's ghost.

. . . . A white man's [American's] ghost can make you sick. You can always see the ghost that makes you sick [in white man's ghost sickness]. To see an In-

[14] For a socio-psychological interpretation of these fears of the ghosts of relatives and also of the power of living kin see Opler, "An Interpretation of Ambivalence of Two American Indian Tribes," *Journal of Social Psychology*, Vol. VII (1936), and "Further Comparative Anthropological Data Bearing on the Solution of a Psychological Problem," *ibid.*, Vol. 'X (1938).

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dian ghost is fatal, but to see a white man's ghost makes you very sick, and you see white men all the time. . . . . Before the Americans came, we had Mexican ghost sickness a lot, especially when we took guns from them.

Unlike the Chiricahua ghost, the white man's ghost does not utilize the body of the owl to further its designs. [825]

Bat, gopher, turtle.—The danger from the bat derives from its bite: 825

If a bat bites you, you had better never ride a horse any more. All the Chiricahua say that. If you do ride a horse after being bitten, you are just as good as dead. [761]

B. never rode, because if a bat bites you, you shouldn't ride a horse. He never got into a buggy or an auto either. He would walk for miles.

To touch the gopher or to be bitten by it can cause illness. "In 1886 I shot a gopher. I thought it was dead, but it wasn't and it bit me. My arm swelled up, and it looked like gopher holes were in it. The Chiricahua say the gopher is bad. You can get sick from it." 825 753

An indication that the ordinary man hesitates to touch the turtle was obtained: "My people were afraid of the turtle and wouldn't touch it. Only a man who got power from it would handle it." 825 [778]

Red ant, vinegarroon, black water beetle, centipede.—A number of insects are considered dangerous, and among these are the red ants:

They say you can get sick from ants in the same way you can from the coyote [i.e., as a result of its inherent evil influence]. On some people, when the ants sting the hands, they swell up. Mine don't. They bite me, and it hurts a little but never swells up. There are songs and a regular ceremony for ants. . . . . All Chiricahua children are taught not to urinate into an anthill. [753] [533] [796] [863]

One of the most feared insects is the vinegarroon: 825 753

K. is suffering from a peculiar Indian disease. It comes from an insect bite, from the bite of the vinegarroon. The disease is marked by a circle of red dots around the body from the point where the person is bitten. In K.'s case he has such a row of dots running around his chest. If these dots meet and form a complete circle around the body, the person dies. K. has been having several people sing for him. [761]

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deer. I saw a deer and ran to head it off. When I got to the point where I thought the deer would pass, I saw one of the men waving, telling me that the deer had gone back. It was raining a little. I started to go back. I went a long way looking around. It started to rain again. I began to look again. Close by, the lightning struck. I went to the place where it had struck and found the hat. This caused me to believe in my ceremony more than ever.

There is one other function of the lightning shaman, the making of amulets of various kinds to be worn as a protection against lightning and lightning sickness.[33]

Some say Lightning talks to them. When the lightning strikes a place, these people can go to the east of a pine tree that was struck and take a piece of wood. They shape it like this [a crude resemblance to the human figure with some features poorly indicated] and put it on them. They wear it suspended by four strings. The painting is done with a blue mineral and black specular iron ore. If this is made for a person, he won't be hit by lightning, and he won't be frightened by lightning.

Plants.—Occasionally, a plant is personified and becomes a source of ritual. One plant, now much used for wounds, revealed itself in a vision experience to a man who was wounded in battle and fell on it. The plant pushed him upward four times and spoke to him, telling him to chew the root, to rub some of it on the injury, and to put the unused leaves back in the ground. The man obeyed directions, recovered, and was able to reach his home and introduce this remedy.

A plant, as well as an animal, acted as supernatural guardian for a successful raider:

This happened long ago. The enemies used to know many ways to stop you, to make your legs ache so you couldn't get away with horses. My father was down in Mexico with a band. They drove away a good herd of cattle, burros, and horses from the Yaqui.

The Yaqui came on the trail. One of the men of the Yaqui knew a ceremony and was working against the Chiricahua. The Chiricahua had seen cacti thrown on their trail, and now they knew what it was for. They got cramps, their legs hurt, and they couldn't go fast. They were in danger, for the Yaqui were catching up.

For his raiding work my father mixed Wolf and Cactus [a small variety of hedgehog cactus type] together. They asked him to sing and he did. He found

[33] Among the ethnological specimens collected by M. R. Harrington from the Chiricahua Apache at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, in 1909 were a number of lightning fetishes.

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out what had been done against them. He saw that the enemy had used cactus with a spider's web. This makes the toes twist [gives cramps] and makes the men fall off their horses. My father found it out and let them have the worst of it. He went to the edge of camp and "shot" four cactus plants on the back trail. They had no trouble after that.

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Antelope and deer.—Deer and antelope ceremonies have as their primary function the securing of game, but other uses for such power exist, such as the employment of the deer ceremony in love rites. The usual deer ceremony is direct in intent and execution. It consists in prayers and songs to Deer the night before the hunt, bespeaking the singer's need, and instructing the animals to give up some of their hide and meat. The ritual may include placing a certain grass under the pillow the night before the hunt, refraining from mentioning the ordinary names for game animals during the expedition, or observing other rules. Often the mountain where the hunter intends to seek his kill is named in the songs.

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The test of a deer or antelope shaman's relations with his power source is the success with which he can predict when, where, and in what quantity the game may be obtained. For some shamans the ability to produce or to find game almost at will has been claimed.

Many knew about deer, but A.'s father knew more than the rest. One man wanted to bet with him [about which one knew more on this subject]. The great man did not want to bet. "I don't know anything about deer," he said. The other begged him to bet. "All right," he said then, "I'm going to make a deer come to that oak. I'll make him eat of it. I'll shoot him there. You do the same to the other oak with another deer. If you can do it, you know as much as I do."

But the other refused. . . . . "I don't mean that. I mean that we should go out hunting to see who kills a deer first."

"No, that has nothing to do with power. Now you want to change the bet." But the other man backed down.

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The individual with a deer or antelope ceremony uses it in many ways. He prepares the deer and antelope heads used in stalking game and sings over them to imbue them with the benefits of his rite. Because his practical experience is augmented by supernatural knowledge, such a shaman is requested by parents to instruct their sons in hunting. Moreover, since good fortune

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"The unborn of the peccary is eaten also. One pig has lots of them." 224 262

That the wildcat was formerly eaten is both affirmed and denied. One informant classed it with wolf and fox and said, "We don't like the meat; also it is forbidden and might kill us." It is possible that some individuals used it for food. Everyone wants the skin, and so the animal is killed whenever opportunity offers.

A number of informants have agreed that mountain-lion meat is edible. In addition, the hide is the favorite material for the quiver. Consequently, no opportunity to shoot a cougar is overlooked by the hunters. [411] [237]

Infrequently the chance was afforded to hunt bison. One account tells of a long trip to a point north and east of the present site of Albuquerque and of success in hunting bison there. Occasionally one was found in the vicinity of Hot Springs and was secured by the people of that region. But bison were entirely absent from the greater part of the territory. 224 [136]

In the historic period wild cattle became abundant and were supplemented by domestic stock obtained on raids to the south. The stock introduced by the Europeans became important very early: 224 262 [136]

> Long ago there were cattle which we hunted and used. The old people say that there were some wild cattle and wild horses, wilder than deer. I don't know where they came from. Many ate burros and mules in those days; many ate horses.
>
> Before the Americans came, a few Chiricahua had cattle, and, of course, there were some with many horses. In wars with the Mexicans they would sometimes steal cattle, and that accounts for the presence of cattle among the Chiricahua. They'd herd the cattle to a river and let them stay around there and increase. Five or six or a dozen men who made the raid would divide the cattle among them, and then the cattle belonged to them personally. Then these men might have enough meat so they wouldn't have to hunt any more for a while. [231] [648]

Many animals are hunted only for their fur. Among these are the badger (from which a skin bag for holding piñon seeds and acorns is made), the beaver, and the otter. 224 237

Birds are much more significant as a source of feathers than as food: 223 262

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formula occur. One calls for the addition of poisonous insects to putrifying liver; another is a mixture of deer stomach, blood, and thorny plants pounded together and allowed to spoil. Of the action of such poison, an informant declared, "A man hit with an arrow dipped in this turns black." 726 411

The bow and arrows are fitted handily into a well-made bow cover and quiver:

When the Chiricahua are on the march and are not using their arrows, they carry them so that the feathers come over the top of the right shoulder. When they are fighting, they reverse the bag so that the feathers come under the left armpit, and they can be snatched out of the quiver with the right hand. For a left-handed person it is just the opposite. Sometimes the quiver is carried over the chest so it will be more handy.

Few men carry shields, for their manufacture is associated with the ceremony obtained from weapons: 726 714

They wear the shield on the left arm (if right-handed). It is held over the arm by one or two straps, whatever is convenient. There is no buckskin cover for the Chiricahua shield. If I wanted to make one, I'd have to make it plain. To get it designed properly I have to go to a man who knows how and I have to pay him. A thing like this is made by a shaman, and you have to pay for it no matter how little it is. The man I go to uses his ceremony for my protection and puts on his design. Most shields have just a few feathers in the center and are of painted cowhide. There is buckskin around the edge only. They are very plain. [756] [789] [531]

Spears, too, are most often made and decorated, either for themselves or for others, by shamans with "power of weapons." Before European contact, spears were essentially lengths of sharpened wood. Later, knives and bayonets were attached to the ends. Because the use of the spear brings the warrior within a few steps of his foe, fighting with this weapon is the kind of action expected of war leaders or those who aspire to that status. The spear rose in favor during the time of strife with the Mexicans: 726 411 [756] [778] [177] [554] 726 411 648.

I remember back to the time when the Mexicans and other enemies used guns that I guess they call breechloaders.[7] The Chiricahua were using arrows, war clubs, and spears then. The spear was used when the enemy was taking time to load his gun. The Mexican used to have that big gun. He would shoot once, and the Indian who was a good runner charged him and pushed the spear in him. The Mexican didn't have time to reload.

[7] Probably the informant is thinking of a muzzle-loader.

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women had to be good and behave carefully so as not to give bad luck to the man. All of a man's relatives were under this restriction.

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When a very prominent man with many relatives has been slain, or when an attack on an unguarded camp has aroused great anger, caution is forgotten. "When we are at war and out for a fight, we go right to the trail and face the enemy in the daytime. We are not particular."

Once a San Carlos Indian cut off a Chiricahua's head, and it led to much trouble and an outbreak. J. was right in the particular Chiricahua bunch when it happened.

[648]

Some Chiricahua had been away from the reservation. The U.S. army men had been after them and had offered twenty-five dollars for every hostile Chiricahua's head brought in. This bunch of Chiricahua decided to come in. They came close to the agency and were eating there. They put J. on a ridge to watch and stand guard. Finally J. was relieved by another boy, a good-looking young Chiricahua. A few minutes later, as he was sitting on the ridge with his gun across his knees, looking in the opposite direction, a San Carlos Indian crept up behind him and shot him. As soon as he shot, he was on this boy with his knife and cut his head off.

The rest of the Chiricahua came up and saw what had been done. They were as angry as could be. They found out who had done this and went down to his camp to get him. But he had been warned and got away. His wife and several children were there, though, and they killed them and left them lying right there. They went out and began shooting into other near-by San Carlos camps. They were so angry they didn't care what they did. Then they made for the hills. And so there was another outbreak.

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But ordinarily rage is tempered by reason, and the war party moves in a disciplined way:

When they start out they have two men ahead and two behind; they have scouts on every side. When they are ready to camp for the night, they send scouts ahead and in the directions to look for the enemy until dark comes. Early in the morning they do the same. These scouts come back and report.

[596]

On the march "the men of each cluster [extended family] stick together near their own leader." But, generally speaking, each person is responsible for his own welfare:

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Each individual usually takes his own provisions with him. He takes some mescal and dried meat which he carries in a buckskin or hide bag attached to his shoulder strap [bandoleer]. The fire drill, if he has one with him, can be carried in this bag too. He carries water in a container made of the intestines of animals. He just ties the ends to keep it shut. He doesn't carry a water jar, because they

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The shaman and the leader entered right into the fight. In a battle the leader and the shaman would each be on one flank of the men. The leader would detail two to go out in front. If the enemy should begin to charge them, the leader would order all his men forward immediately. The leader takes the front and the shaman the rear, urging the men forward. 726 701 (756)

The position of the shaman at this time is not due to reluctance to risk combat with the enemy. He falls behind "to perform his ceremony and prevent injuries." This ceremonial function may even overshadow in significance leadership of the more warlike type, for ceremonialism is injected into the military action from beginning to end. In a description of a specific war party which he accompanied and in which he and his kin avenged the death of a relative, an informant reports: "When the war party was ready to attack, the shaman prayed, turned to the four directions, then faced the warriors, and ordered them to charge." 726 756

Should the warriors find themselves in jeopardy, they resort to strategy, as in this method of rendering Mexican firearms ineffective: 726 725 648

During the battle the Chiricahua used bows and arrows and spears but had no rifles. The Mexicans were not afraid of bows and arrows, so the Chiricahua leader would send two Indians into the open, just out of range. These two men would try to avoid the bullets; they were protected by the shamans and were never shot. The reason they sent these two men out was that the Mexicans' rifles would become heated after a while and they would not be able to shoot straight. I saw this happen often, for I was at war nearly every month.

After the two Chiricahua had been in the open for perhaps half an hour, they would go back to the line of warriors. Then all would charge the Mexicans and kill as many as a hundred. Often the Indians would kill all of their foes; those on horseback might get away, but never those on foot. The only way the Mexicans could beat us was if some Chiricahua men were scouting and the Mexicans made a raid on their home camp in their absence.

When hard pressed, the warriors are capable of arranging traps and ambushes: 726 725

Suppose there were forty or fifty men out on the war party. The enemy is right after them. They get to a brushy place. They all go straight ahead and then they divide, and part come back on the side in the bushes. The enemy goes right on. The Chiricahua ahead begin shooting. Then when the enemy turns, the Chiricahua in their rear and on the side begin to shoot. They did this many times. They always have a couple of scouts behind and on the side and a couple

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might agree that a stone pointing in a certain way will be a sign. Lines on the ground are also made to indicate which way they are turning on the trail. Dropping a stick in the direction in which you are traveling is another way. 726 [487]

The wolf howl may be simulated by the members of a scattered party. "The warriors would call to each other with the wolf howl. When the Mexicans were our enemies, we used to howl to each other in this way so that the enemy would not know who we were." [198] [825] [648]

The smoke signal, too, is used to some extent: 726 202

If a group agrees that when they get to a certain place they will make a smoke signal, the others watch for it. None is made except on agreement. It has to be used during the daytime. Sotol is used to make these smoke signals.

For signal smoke a fire is built, and damp wood and grass are put on; this makes a smoke that can be seen for great distances. Whenever the Chiricahua see smoke from a long distance, they know something is happening. The smoke always means something, usually that there are enemies or that there is an epidemic. If it means the first, the smoke is from a mountaintop. If it means sickness, it comes from a camp in the valley.

According to another informant, the smoke signal can be used to determine whether members of an approaching group are friends or foes:

If one party of men sees another in the distance, it lights a fire to the right of it and sends up one column of smoke. This means, "Who are you?" If the other group builds a fire to its right and sends up one column of smoke it means, "We are Chiricahua and friends." To send up the smoke, they put wet grass on the fire and throw a rock on top. The weight of the rock makes the fire burn fast. Then you scatter the fire quickly to stop the smoke.

Finally, the smoke signal serves to acquaint the home camp of the war party's safety:

If, when the warriors leave, they are not certain at just what time they are coming back, the people who are left behind must look for smoke at a certain mountain or canyon that they name. These people have to have a scout looking for this smoke. For instance, they say they will be back in fifteen days. The days pass, and they are not back. Then those left behind look for smoke from that day on at the place they mentioned.

After the introduction of the mirror, some use was made of it for signaling in times of strife: [177]

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726 157

When a Chiricahua is cornered and desperate and thinks the end has come, he tears off his shirt and headband. He tears off all his clothes but his loincloth, and he goes right into the thick of it. Sometimes he fights so hard that he gets away.

727

The wounded constitute a major problem of war:

(752)

If anybody is wounded on the warpath, they try to bring him back. But it is often far, and they often die. If they get back, herbs will be used on the wounds, and the shaman will sing. . . . . Cures might be worked on the warpath if there was somebody along who knew how.

727 177

Scalping and the taking of captives.—Scalping is a very recently acquired custom and one for which there is limited enthusiasm. A number of spokesmen flatly denied that scalping is a practice of their people:

The Chiricahua never scalp. They never bother with them. They don't like them. It looks as if it is against their religion.

I don't think scalping is the habit of the Chiricahua, for I have not seen many try it. It looks as though a few saw other Indians do it and tried it.

727 177 648

Retaliation for atrocities visited upon them is the explanation most often given by those who admit that some scalps were taken. The Mexicans are frequently blamed for the development of this form of revenge:

The Mexicans used to take scalps. They started it first—before the Chiricahua. They used to take scalps, including the ears, and sometimes they took the whole head. The Chiricahua would make peace with the Mexicans. Then the Mexicans would give them liquor, get them drunk, take them in their houses, and cut off their heads. Then the war would start again.

Scalping is used as a last resort on a man who has made a great deal of trouble for the Chiricahua. Such a man, when finally caught, would be scalped and "danced on." He was scalped after he was dead. The whole scalp was taken off. In the dance the pole is in the center with the scalp on top, and they dance around it. The scalp is thrown away at the end of the dance. This is used mostly on Mexicans who did awful things against the Chiricahua.

727

While the Mexicans were undoubtedly the special object of Chiricahua hatred during this period, the data indicate that the scalping of members of other groups did sometimes occur. But, in any case, scalping was never carried on extensively:

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Chiricahua attack a village, they don't kill the women and children much, but let them run away. 727

The violent end of adult male captives at the hands of vengeful women has been described by several informants: 727 648

The Chiricahua treated Mexicans in a rough way when they were captured, but they didn't treat Americans like that. These Chiricahua were more the enemies of the Mexicans than of any other people on earth, because the Mexicans treated these Chiricahua in a nasty way.

They say they used to tie Mexicans with their hands behind their backs. Then they turned the women loose with axes and knives to kill the Mexican prisoner. The man could hardly run, and the women would chase him around until they killed him.

But usually they had to ask the head man whether he wanted it done. Then, even if he didn't want it done, the warriors could vote on it, and, if he was overruled, it would be done anyway. Usually the people whose relatives had been killed wanted it to be done. They wanted to have their way about it.

When a brave warrior is killed, the men go out for about three Mexicans. They bring them back for the women to kill in revenge. The women ride at them on horseback, armed with spears.

Women captives are rarely taken; when they are, there can be no sexual interest in them:

When Chiricahua men are on the raid or warpath and they capture Mexican women or women of other tribes, they don't do anything to them. They are afraid to have sexual intercourse with them, for they say, if they do, their luck will be spoiled. They can't do it. But the Mexicans did it every time they got Indian women. [833] [777]

Even after arrival in the camp, it is considered improper to mistreat the women captives sexually. "The Chiricahua do not force a woman captive. If you can make her love you, all right. But she is not mistreated."

The only captive really desired, then, is the small boy: 727

Our warriors would try to catch a young boy. They don't bother with women and older people. All the prisoners who were brought back and lived with the Chiricahua that I know about were males. At first they have to act as servants. They have to eat as servants. Some escape after a while. Others stay.

It is taken for granted that they belong in the group; they become members of the group. The feeling of captivity wears off in time. Such a boy can marry into the tribe later, and his children are accepted as members of the tribe. The captive is brought up by the man who captures him. He calls the man father and the woman who adopts him mother. [597]

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It is possible that all these alcoholic beverages were inspired by the customs of Mexican Indians and the Spanish-speaking peoples to the south, as is suggested in this recipe for a sotol drink:

> There is a story that the Mexicans were making a drink out of sotol. I don't know whether the Indians used to make it or not, but I guess they did because I used to hear the old men say that it makes a good drink. To make it, roast the crown of sotol in an underground oven just as mescal is roasted for food. Then mash it up. Squeeze the juice out. Let the juice stand, sometimes in a hide in the ground, until it ferments. If the weather is warm, it does not take more than a day after it is standing. Then strain it, and it is ready to use.

In much the same way a drink is made from fermented mescal juice:

> Roast the mescal in a pit just as if you were going to eat it. Pull off the outer leaves and cut the soft inner part into small pieces. Pound them, put the pounded mescal in a hide, and bury the hide in the ground. Cover this and let it ferment for two days. Then take it out and squeeze it by hand and mix the juice with some water. It will bubble for a day or two, and then it is ready. It gets strong.

The drink from mesquite beans is no more difficult to prepare:

> The women know how to make a drink out of mesquite beans by boiling them, draining off the water when they are soft, mashing the beans, and letting the material stand and ferment.

The favorite drink, however, is tiswin, or "gray water," a weak corn beer. The maize used in its manufacture was obtained by trade or theft from Mexican Indians, Pueblo Indians, and white settlers before reservation days. Tiswin is considered the most nourishing of the beverages and is often spoken of as a food, because its mild stimulation when taken in moderate quantities has helped many a person withstand the rigors of travel and want. "Many used tiswin for food in the old days. Many even gave it to children when they didn't have anything else to feed them." Tiswin is also considered the appropriate beverage to serve during any social occasion.

> To make tiswin the woman takes mature corn and shells it. She wants it good and dry to start with. She soaks it in water all night. In the morning she puts grass in a long trench, puts the corn kernels on top of this, and lays another layer of grass over it. On top of this she may throw some dirt, or she may just put a

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dying out, more distant relatives are told about the cache, and the secret spreads out in this way, so the stores will be of use to those who need them and will not go to waste.

AGRICULTURE

No attempt was made to cultivate crops until very recent times. One, and perhaps two, of the three major subdivisions or bands raised no crops at all until the modern reservation period. The oldest Southern Chiricahua informant stated categorically: "My people did not practice farming. The Indians had many plants which were given to them [by nature] and did not have to farm. They moved around too much also." The Central Chiricahua were little more inclined toward agriculture. One of them observed, "I do not think the Chiricahua ever planted before they came under the influence of the whites." In 1873, shortly after the establishment of a reserve for the control of the Central and Southern Chiricahua, the first agent reported:

> In regard to the future prospects for farming operations by these Indians, I would state that I have conversed with Cochise and many of his head-men upon this subject repeatedly, and I am of the opinion that it will require some little time to bring them into the traces and make them submit to this exaction, which must eventually be required of them. They have never been an agricultural people, and claim that they do not know how to farm.[10]

But it is possible that the example of neighboring peoples who cultivated the land may have led to experiments on the part of individual families, as this statement of a Central Chiricahua suggests: "Even in Old Mexico, the Chiricahua tried to farm a little."

The Eastern Chiricahua, who seem to have had earlier friendly relations and trade contacts with the Spanish-speaking townspeople, began to farm even before the modern reservations were established. By 1869, according to government reports, the leaders of this band were complaining that they were being driven from lands where they used to plant.[11] Testimony from informants corroborates these old reports: "These Eastern Chiricahua Indians farmed before the whites came. They tell about

[10] *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1873.

[11] *Ibid.*, 1869.

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the big ditches they used at Hot Springs." "We've had corn as long as I can remember." "The Eastern Chiricahua planted corn even in the old times." "All the groups of Eastern Chiricahua planted." Maize was undoubtedly the first vegetable raised. "When I was young," recalled a very old man, "we never had any cultivated vegetables except corn. Later others came from Old Mexico."

The influence of the Spanish-speaking peoples to the south in the impetus toward agricultural pursuits is admitted:

> The Eastern Chiricahua raised corn, pumpkins, potatoes, onions, chili, and watermelons. We had a good deal of contact with Spanish towns. We learned to speak Spanish, and the Spanish people showed us how to raise these things. We got the seeds from the Mexicans too. We got big hoes from them or traded them from the whites.

The Eastern band made good use of the intervals of peace:

> If a Chiricahua had a Mexican friend, he would get corn as a gift, and the Indian might give a horse or something else to the Mexican. We planted at Hot Springs as well as in Mexico. We received corn up here, as well as in Mexico, from the Mexicans living around. The Indians used to be good friends with the Mexicans often. When I was small I used to play with Mexican children. They gave me the name the white people call me by now.

The techniques of cultivation in use among the Eastern Chiricahua are described by an informant:

> We planted corn, cantaloupes, and watermelons. No squash or pumpkins were planted at first. Some Chiricahua never had pumpkins or squash until 1885 or 1886, except what they could get from other peoples.
>
> We used irrigation. We dug trenches from a stream to the farm and stopped these irrigation ditches with dirt when we wanted to block them. When the corn was big enough to hoe, we went out in the woods and made a hoe of bent root. Later we had hoes from the Mexicans. To make the holes for the seeds, we used just a pointed stick. The men worked in the fields; the women worked in the fields too, but mostly men did it.

Although this informant feels that agriculture is a legitimate activity for men, another disagrees, saying: "Planting was considered a woman's job. That is the way I feel. At Fort Sill men had to do it." "Men, women, and boys assisted," according to a third spokesman. Evidently, the division of labor in agricultural work was not clear cut.

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421 are his own, and his wife may not dispose of them without his
[431] permission. But if he recklessly gives away all the booty he has
[626] earned in a successful raid and leaves his own family impoverished, he is subjected to stinging criticism at home and ridicule outside.

439 Trade is more likely to be intertribal than intratribal. "The women who didn't make their own pots got them in trade from the Pueblos and from the Navaho too. Those people came down with peaches and pots and things on burros and traded them for
438 saddles and things we had." But some bartering does go on
439 among tribesmen. "If a man wants a certain blanket, he offers something. If it is refused, he offers more until a deal is made." When something is needed for ceremonial purposes, a particular kind of feather, for instance, the one who has it is approached and offered whatever is required to induce him to part with it.

43 That trade is not further developed has been attributed by
463 informants to the lack of emphasis on specialization of labor:

> A good maker of bows cannot spend his time just making bows. Everyone makes his own bows and takes care of his own property. A woman who is widowed lives in a poorer condition; that's all. She does not get things she needs by trading.[19] There is not much specialization of labor. We were on the move
[648] all the time. The Mexicans were always after us. A person didn't have the chance to specialize on any kind of work and trade off the things he made.

43 Another barrier to great interest in trade is the solidarity of the
602 kin group and extended family in material matters. The ease
[426] with which objects can be borrowed for legitimate purposes makes less important their actual ownership and their acquisition by barter.

425 And yet, in various ways, goods do pass from person to per-
[525] son. The wagering of property on games of chance, for instance, makes for a great deal of circulation of possessions of all kinds. Gambling is almost a major occupation for some individuals, and persons of all ages and both sexes show a lively interest in it.
[465] Much wealth changes hands, too, as a result of payment for ceremonial services. Because so many persons are involved in the

[19] But for evidence that pots were sometimes traded see pp. 383-84.

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593 434 554 No less important in determining a wife's social and domestic position is her economic usefulness. An industrious woman contributes so significantly to the family resources that the indispensable part she plays cannot be minimized by the men. Moreover, much of the wealth she creates belongs to her. Consequently, wives are well aware of their rights and do not accept abuse supinely:

> Not long ago this man started beating up his wife. She just took him and rolled him under the bed. You know he is paralyzed on one side and is pretty near helpless when you get him like that. It was a low bed, and he got stuck there. He stayed there until another fellow came along and let him out. He was there calling to his wife to get him out.

593 554 An amusing anecdote better illustrates the usual independence of wives in their own homes:

> Geronimo was very absent-minded. He would be looking for his hat and he would have it on his head.
>
> One time when we were over to visit him, he was making a bow with a big knife. Pretty soon he began asking his wife where his knife was. All the time he had it in his hand, but we didn't let on. So there he was, scolding his wife and telling her to look for it for him. He was short and stout and pretty old by then, so he wasn't active any more. That's why he wanted his wife to get it for him. But she wouldn't look. She said, "You're old enough to look for your own knife."
>
> Geronimo got pretty angry. "Boys, you see how she is!" he said. "I advise you not to get married." Finally he saw the knife in his hand. "Why, I'm nothing but a fool!" he said.

593 [648] Important in the stabilization of many marriages are the respect and affection that grow through the years as a result of shared experiences. An elderly informant told of the long period of domestic happiness which he and his wife had enjoyed. Besides being a loyal and helpful mate, she had saved his life. Once when Mexican villagers were overhospitable to a group of Chiricahua, she suspected duplicity and accepted none of the food and drink offered. As she had feared, just as soon as her people were properly befuddled, a massacre began. But she remained clear-headed and managed to get her helpless husband to a hiding-place. The moral force that this exceptional woman exercised over her mate is generally recognized. More than once it was

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POLITICAL ORGANIZATION AND STATUS

619

ALL members of the tribe, despite minor differences which exist between the bands, are aware of the linguistic and cultural bonds which identify them as one people and which distinguish them from other groups of the region:

> In customs, speech, beliefs, and manner of dress we people over the other way [west of the Rio Grande] in Chiricahua country are very much alike. There may be slight differences in speech. [It is doubtful that these ever went deeper than some variations in vocabulary.] But we could always understand one another thoroughly. The fundamental things—beliefs and ceremonies—are the same. By these people I mean the Southern Chiricahua, the Central Chiricahua, and the Eastern Chiricahua.

This tribal tie is expressed in a number of ways. The three [574] bands remain at peace with one another. Visiting between members of different bands, especially near the peripheries of the band territories, is a frequent occurrence. Individuals of one band are always ready to attend the puberty rite of the daughter of a member of another band. The social dance songs, with their repeated references to a woman or a man "from a far country," are [582] further evidence of intercommunication. Marriages between members of different bands grow out of these social contacts. Quite often persons whose lives would be forfeit in their own band territory find a refuge in another district.

619 The right of members of one band to pass freely through the
• 648 territory of another band was not challenged until the Americans became interested in controlling the activities of the Chiricahua:

> We [the Eastern Chiricahua] were on friendly terms with the towns around us and we were causing no trouble there. But the Central Chiricahua and the Southern Chiricahua came around. They used to bring in horses stolen from the south, and they got us into trouble.
>
> Some of our leading men said, "There are too many Southern Chiricahua and Central Chiricahua here. They are bringing in horses. They will get us into trouble." But our leader, Victorio, wouldn't do anything about it. He said, "These people are not bothering us."
>
> Then a bunch of them came with some horses from the south. There were

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about seven in the bunch. They had stolen horses from the Pima Indians around Tucson. The Pimas told the missionary there, and he wrote to Washington. Soldiers came and took these men prisoners. They chained them and took them to San Carlos. Then they took all the Eastern Chiricahua band there. Those seven men were taken in wagons. We all had to come with horses.

Despite the peaceful relations and frequent social contacts between the bands, there is no political synthesis and scarcely any formal recognition of the tribe as such. There is no distinct tribal name. The word which serves to identify tribesmen also differentiates all Apachean-speaking peoples from others and is now used by the Chiricahua to distinguish Indians in general from Europeans and other non-Indian populations. Moreover, there is no organized leadership for the entire tribe; and no instances have been found where the three bands acted in concert to carry war to others, to repel invasion, or for any other purpose. The tribe is too widely scattered over its extensive, varied, and difficult terrain for united action. While individuals and families can cross band borders and be received as tribesmen, a concourse of the entire population is not practical.

The band, however, does achieve the political consciousness that the tribe lacks. It possesses a distinct name which has no other meaning. It is guided by a recognized leader (occasionally by more than one), assisted by a number of subordinates. The opportunities for interaction are much greater for members of the various local groups which comprise a band than for members of different bands. As this indicates, the band is a division of the tribe based on territory, including within its borders those local groups near enough together to unite for military action if the need arises or to co-operate for any important social occasion. The nature of the local group and that of the extended family have already been discussed.[1]

This segmentation of the society into social units graded in size and scope of activities implies a pyramiding of responsibility and leadership. It is the men who formally assume posts of authority, though "women attend councils and may speak if they have anything to say." The married man acts as the head of his

[1] See pp. 18–19 and 24–25.

2: Castetter and Opler N, E-5 (1931-1934)1936
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131 vations. The territory they claimed reached the Pueblo district of Laguna and Acoma to the north, and on the south their lands extended into Chihuahua and Sonora, Old Mexico.

BAND AND LOCAL GROUP

619 The Mescalero were divided into two bands. One was called "Edge of the Mountains People." The members of this band stayed most often in the vicinity of the Sacramento and Sierra Blanca mountain ranges. The second band [621] stayed farther to the east and the smaller offshoots of it, which we may term local groups, often camped on the flats in times of peace and so gave the name of "Plains People" [622] to the band. These two Mescalero bands were one in language and customs and, though each had separate leaders, recognized themselves as a single people.

619 The Chiricahua bands were three in number. The 10[eastern band, whose territories joined those of the Mescalero [131] at the Rio Grande, controlled the territory of southwestern New Mexico and has been given a variety of names throughout the literature. Those occurring most frequently are Warm Springs or Ojo Caliente Apache, Coppermine Apache, Mimbreños, and Mogollones Apache. The native name for this band is *tcihene*, which probably means "Red Paint [622] People." In historic times this band was led by the well-known chieftain, Victorio.

To the south and west of the "Red Paint People," ranging through a portion of southwestern New Mexico and through southeastern Arizona, a second Chiricahua band, the *tcokanene*, was to be found. The derivation of the native [622] term is uncertain. It was this band, often called in the literature Cochise Apaches after their leader, Cochise, which [648] controlled Apache Pass and with which the government had a great deal of trouble during the Indian wars. It was this band, too, which was instrumental in giving the name Chiri- [621] cahua to the whole tribe. One local division or local group of this band had as its main refuge the rocky indentations along [131] a mountain range called by the Apache *tseγata*, "Rock Pocket."

2: Castetter and Opler N, E-5 (1931-1934)1936
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certain animal's fur or flesh was at its best at the particular time, the Apache was present to share in the harvest. 221

In former times the country of the Apache was a difficult one for the uninitiated to cross. The lowlands were hot and dry and made thorny traveling. A glimpse of water turned out more often to be a mirage. Wide arroyos and washes, cut by the torrential flows which often follow the sudden rains of the surrounding mountains, barred the passage. The tangled brush of the foothills made progress slow, and the high ranges were a formidable barrier to one who was not acquainted with the passes and short cuts. 133 484

The Apache made perfect familiarity with this region in all its aspects an ally to his safety. He knew the water holes of the flats. He knew the travel distance from point to point and, therefore, how much food and water to carry. He was aware of the shortest passes and best hiding places in the mountains. If cut off from his own group, he knew where he was likely to find other parties of Apache camping, and he was trained to endure hardship and to shift for himself in this environment until he could make contact with friends. 133 484 182 823

But, though the Apache helped themselves freely to the plant and animal life of the lowlands, it must not be thought that they felt equally at home in both the plains and the mountains. After all, they were essentially mountain people. In the lowlands they had serious competitors, such as the Plains Indians, whom they acknowledged to be their equals and even their masters in knowledge of such country and its resources. But in the mountains they felt confident and secure. Here they had their retreats and their cave caches of food supply laid up against need and emergency. Army officers have commented often enough upon the difficulty of finding and besting the Apache in their mountain stations. 484 182 823 [186] [251] [648]

For the original habitat of the Mescalero, portions of southern New Mexico may be taken as an example. The west side of the great plains of New Mexico, Texas, and Mexico is a region consisting of isolated mountain ranges and intervening plains or broad, open valleys. Several of these val- 133

2: Castetter and Opler N, E-5 (1931-1934)1936
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MESCALERO

821 784 776 Space does not permit a full discussion of the restrictions in food, speech, and even in the color of objects displayed during a storm, which are obeyed in order to appease the thunder people. But enough has been given, perhaps, to demonstrate that the Apache conceive of this natural force as alive and personified.

825 The same characterization attaches to insects and animals. To kill a spider will bring retaliation by his fellows. Therefore it is customary when an Apache has inadvertently stepped on a spider for him to say, "So-and-So killed you," [648] naming someone he especially dislikes. During the wars with the United States soldiers a favorite remark was, "Washington did it," when such a mishap occurred. The [753] malice of a mistreated horse or dog was said to result in serious consequences, and the ants were said to afflict anyone with bladder stones who urinated in or near their hills.

825 224 The extent to which it was thought necessary to go in order to win the approval and co-operation of the animal world is clearly indicated in hunting practices. The customs pertaining to the hunting of deer will serve as an example. [824] The deer are said to be sensitive to certain plants, such as wild onions and osha, and will hide from a hunter who digs them up or eats them immediately before the hunt. To eat 825 224 784 [264] before leaving for the hunt would be to forfeit any chance of success; even if there is an abundance of food at hand, the hunter must go out hungry, for the deer are not likely to take pity on a full stomach and reveal themselves. When the kill is made, the head must be turned to the east, and, in butchering, the carcass may never be straddled, nor may the hunter walk on the east side past the head. The lower end of the big intestine must be left for Raven. The eyes must be kept from Raven till the meat is brought in, otherwise, the game would not be fit for consumption. If a hunter should [787] be unable to find or kill deer for some time, he would assume that he had been careless in one of these or similar particulars and would go to a man who has a ceremony from deer in order to learn what he had done "against" the deer and how to correct matters.

2: Castetter and Opler N, E-5 (1931-1934)1936
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through the camps. Any woman who has no one to provide for her may approach him at this time and help herself to what he has without protest from him. Often, in times of scarcity, an Apache hunter would reach his own dwelling with little to show for his efforts.

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AGRICULTURE

It is doubtful whether the Apache practiced what could really be called agriculture until very recently. As a matter of fact they raised so little maize and expended so little care upon it that the practice, in aboriginal times, did not interfere with their nomadic life. They obtained maize from the Pueblos and the Mexicans, planted some in sheltered canyons, returned once or twice to pull the worst of the weeds, even did a little irrigating if the land were exceptionally dry and water could be easily diverted to it, and then came back when they thought the crop would be ready to harvest.

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One of the oldest of the Chiricahua told the writer, "My people did not practice farming. The Indians had many plants which were given to them and did not have to practice it. They move around so much too." Another Chiricahua man testified, "I do not think the Chiricahua ever planted before they came under the influence of the Whites." Still another member of the tribe spoke of planting as a trait that had been "picked up" long ago in Mexico. Most of the informants seem to realize that what agriculture they practiced came to them from the outside, and many of those who state that it was carried on in the "old days" interpret that to mean no more than the lifetime of their parents or grandparents.

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Just when these Apache began to plant is difficult to estimate. At any rate it is certain that the agricultural efforts of the Apache were at first far from elaborate. They have been described by an old Mescalero as follows: "Only two or three families out of a hundred would farm. That's in the earliest time I can remember. We got the corn seed from raiding settlers and Mexicans. This was before gov-

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243 [648] [177] [412] ernment control. In those days the settlers planted corn far from the houses. It was easy to get, and we got it from the south (Mexico) mostly. We had just a digging stick—no hoe. With this we made holes and planted the corn shallowly, about four or five seeds to one hole. Pulling the weeds was about all the care we gave it. We might be traveling around but we came back to it at the time we knew it would be ready to harvest. My people used no irrigation then. This went on before my time, when my father was a boy too, and before his father's time. The Mescalero planted around Tularosa, New Mexico, and La Luz at that time."

The same informant told how wheat seed, obtained from Mexico during raids or from the early settlers, was planted in sandy loam, harvested by beating it with a stick, and made into bread.

241 177 Later, in the early 1870's, when the Warm Springs Apache were given a separate reservation near Hot Springs, they turned more to agriculture and considerably refined [439] [412] these haphazard methods. Under the influence of neighboring Mexican towns with which they carried on trade, they began to use hoes shaped out of the bent root of a tree, and later obtained hoes of Mexican manufacture. Watermelons and cantaloupes were raised as well as corn, and later beans, pumpkins, potatoes, chile, and squash. Irrigation was now regularly adopted, trenches being dug from the water supply to the field, and stopped up with earth when the land was sufficiently watered. Maize kernels and beans, to be used for seed, were sometimes soaked all night in water to make them sprout faster and then dropped two or three in a hole. Pumpkin and watermelon seeds were often soaked like this before planting too. When the seeds were soaked beforehand they were not planted so deeply as when they were planted dry.

241 [462] Agriculture never became important enough for the Apache to consider it one of the manly arts. Both sexes took part in the task of planting, but the weeding, harvesting, and preparation were left almost entirely to the women. Agriculture has never exerted influence enough to figure

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the women became quite proficient and well known for their abilities along this line. 27 [462]

The above was the usual method of preparing *tulbai* but a number of variations of the process have been developed. Ground wheat was often added to the boiled corn to make the beverage foam, also to make it stronger. Occasionally yeast was combined with the mixture and not infrequently the juice of fermented mescal was squeezed into the liquid to hasten fermentation as well as to give a blended flavor. Chips of shaved oak root *(Quercus grisea)* gave the *tulbai* flavor, and mesquite root *(Prosopis glandulosa)*, dandelion flowers *(Taraxacum officinale)*, and hop flowers *(Humulus lupulus neomexicanus)* were used for the same purpose, and to make the drink stronger. Hrdlička *(12:27)* referred to small quantities of roots of native plants being added to *tulbai* as "medicine." Our observation is that this needs qualification, to the extent that the Apache do say that *tulbai* is "good for you" and "cleans you out," but they do not use it in the first instance as medicine. [37] [824]

Frequently, wheat instead of corn was used to make the beverage, the process of germination, grinding, boiling, and fermenting being the same as with corn.

Both the Mescalero and Chiricahua Apache claim that they had no knowledge of *tulbai* in the distant past and that its use penetrated among them from the south. Most accounts have it that the Lipan Apache brought it northward, but some state it was learned from the natives of northern Mexico. Hrdlička *(11:190)* and Browne *(3:411)* are of the opinion that the preparation and use of this beverage was learned by the Apache from the Mexican Indians, Hrdlička recording that it was brought to the White River Apache from the more southerly Chiricahua Apache, who were said to have learned to make it in Mexico. 273 177

Murphy *(16:347)*, writing in 1865 as military superintendent of the Mescalero Apache, recorded his reluctance to give these Indians whole corn because they made from it an intoxicating drink--*"teeswin"* on which they got very drunk. In consequence no corn, but corn flour, 273 648

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273 was issued to them. The Mescalero Apache were reported
• 648 by their agent *(24:*291) in 1900, as having made no *tulbai* since 1897. This is widely at variance with other reports and studies, however, for large quantities are known to have been made and consumed during that period.

273 Hrdlička *(12:*28) recorded that the Mescalero Apache
[137] formerly made an intoxicating drink from the inner bark of the western yellow pine *(Pinus scopulorum)*, and this was at times mixed with *tulbai*.

Another alcoholic drink among these Indians was mescal. The mescal crowns were roasted as described under the section on foods, and the outer leaves removed. The inner portion was cut into pieces, pounded until soft, and the pulp placed in a pouch made of animal hide. This was buried in the ground where it was usually allowed to remain for two days, although the Indians claimed that the longer it was buried the better it became. When removed from the ground the juice was squeezed from the pulp into a container and allowed to ferment for two or three days, when it was ready for use. Thus prepared, the mescal drink was quite potent. An occasional Apache allowed the mescal juice to spoil (change to a high percentage of acetic acid) before getting drunk on it. Cremony *(6:*217), in 1868, reported that the Apache made a drink by macerating the mescal root in water and allowing the mixture to ferment for several days, after which the liquid was boiled down to produce a strong intoxicating beverage. This use of the root seems unusual for we have nowhere encountered this custom among these Apache.

[137] Similarly, sotol crowns *(Dasylirion wheeleri)* formerly were pit-baked for one night only, removed, peeled, crushed, mixed with a small amount of water in a rawhide container, and allowed to ferment underground about a day, or until fermentation had practically ceased, when the drink was
[415] ready for use. The concoction was also placed in pitch covered water jars or in wooden jugs cut from trees. Informants reported that the beverage might be allowed to stand for a month before being used. We have not been able to learn

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121 754 128 plasticity of supernatural power, namely, that power may be used for good or evil depending on the character and design of the shaman. Moreover, they suggest that, according to the Chiricahua view, evil may arise either from the malevolence of man or from the advantages which evil power offers man if he will agree to be the instrument of the forces of malice. But it is plain throughout that sorcery can operate only through man and that consequently evil cannot flourish as long as humankind resists it courageously.

The last episode is included, despite its modern elements, because it is a good example of what takes place when new symbols are substituted for old without a change in the basic thought and attitude pattern. [178]

754 787 539 1. *The Power of Sorcery Is Offered to a Chiricahua*

A friend told me he had a chance to be a witch. This was at Fort Sill, Oklahoma.[1] He was sleeping in his house alone at night. There was a window right by him. It was dark. He heard somebody get in and walk around every night. He'd lock up carefully, but he'd hear the window and door rattle and someone get in.

This thing appeared to him inside the house one night. An old woman and an old man came in naked and stood by his bed.[2] They were no persons he knew, just spirits. He was talking to them. While they were talking, a young boy and girl came in entirely naked and stood before him. And they told him, "We came over here to give you power to be a witch."

He says he talked to them. He said, "How am I going to be a witch?"

He told me later, "My friend, it's no wonder that when you suspect a witch you can't find out about him. It's right in here in the middle of the tongue. They told me to stick my tongue

[648] [195] [577] 291 [835]

[1] This story dates back to the time when the Chiricahua were held as prisoners of war at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, after being removed from their territory in the Southwest.

[2] Shamelessness, nakedness, and incest are associated with sorcery on the grounds that only witches would be guilty of such excesses.

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At first Enti said no. But they begged him and he agreed to do it.

That night, after dark, he started. He sang two songs. Then he stopped. He began to shake. He moved out into the brush as though he were being led.[17] In a few minutes he came back.

"My power tells me that you are to stake a fat horse to the east. And on him there must be a good saddle blanket and a saddle and a gun and ammunition. I don't know why this is required. When it is done I'll have to sing more and find out."

"Has anyone got a good horse to put there?" asked Chihuahua. One young man had a fine white horse and he offered to bring it. Another brought a saddle, and soon everything that was asked for was there and the horse was staked to the east.

Then Enti started singing again. He sang two more songs. Again he began to shake. He went around the camp and then his power led him out to the west. The men sat and waited for his return. They waited a long time and still he did not come back.

"I wonder what happened to that fellow," said Chihuahua.

"I'll bet he went over to that horse," said another.

"You had better run over and see," Chihuahua told him.

The man ran over there and, sure enough, the horse was gone.

When Enti got away with this horse he headed for Natazi. He came to the encampment of Cochise.[18] Enti had some kind of love ceremony and they say he had that whole camp crazy. He got away with six women. Then he heard that Cochise was after him and he ran off again. He came to Hot Springs country where my family lived. But Cochise and a group of men came after him. Cochise was a real fighter and not many stood out against him. They caught Enti at Hot Springs and

[17] In ceremonies to locate the position of the enemy or to find lost objects, the power is expected to move the outstretched arm or the body of the shaman in the proper direction.

[18] Cochise was the leader of the Central Chiricahua band. His son, Naiche, co-operated with Geronimo in the Indian War of 1886 which ended in the surrender of Geronimo to General Nelson A. Miles and the exile of the entire Chiricahua tribe from the west for 27 years.